





"Pledged but to TRUTH, to LIBERTY and LAW,  
No favor swayed them, no fear did awe."

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# Birth of the Republican Party,

WITH A

BRIEF HISTORY OF THE IMPORTANT PART TAKEN BY THE  
ORIGINAL REPUBLICAN ASSOCIATION OF THE  
NATIONAL CAPITAL.

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## AN ADDRESS

DELIVERED BY

LEWIS CLEPHANE, ESQ.

AT A REUNION OF THE SURVIVING MEMBERS OF THE RE-  
PUBLICAN ASSOCIATION OF 1855 TO 1861, AND OF THE  
WIDE-AWAKES, JANUARY 26TH, 1889, WITH  
ACCOMPANYING DOCUMENTS.

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WASHINGTON :  
GIBSON BROS., PRINTERS AND BOOKBINDERS.  
1889.

THE SURVIVING MEMBERS  
OF  
The Republican Association of 1855-1860.

RE-ORGANIZED FEBRUARY 19TH, 1889,

UNDER THE TITLE OF

THE VETERAN REPUBLICAN ASSOCIATION

OF THE

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

OFFICERS FOR 1889.

|                     |           |                              |
|---------------------|-----------|------------------------------|
| LEWIS CLEPHANE,     | - - - - - | <i>President</i>             |
| A. C. RICHARDS,     | - - - - - | <i>First Vice-President</i>  |
| GEO. H. PLANT, SR., | - - - - - | <i>Second Vice-President</i> |
| A. G. HALL,         | - - - - - | <i>Secretary</i>             |
| GEO. R. WILSON,     | - - - - - | <i>Treasurer</i>             |

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

W. C. DODGE,

A. C. RICHARDS,

G. A. HALL,

G. W. McELFRESH,

WM. HENDLEY.

87 9/18 10  
PREFATORY.

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At a casual meeting of a few of the surviving members of the original Republican Association of Washington, D. C., the conversation turned to reminiscences of the past, recalling the dangers and struggles of those who in 1855 and from that on to 1861 had the courage to announce themselves as opposed to the further extension of slavery in the Territories of the United States; and the suggestion was made of having a re-union of the surviving members of the organization.

In accordance with that suggestion, the following letter was drawn up and signed by those present and sent to L. Clephane, Esq., eliciting the accompanying reply.

At the time named 65 of the survivors met at Mr. Clephane's residence, 1225 K St., where, after a most enjoyable interview and repast, the accompanying addresses were delivered.

Upon the suggestion of a member, a resolution was adopted for its publication in order to perpetuate the history of the early efforts at the National Capital to organize the Republican party.

At a subsequent meeting held Feb'y 14, 1889, a permanent organization of the survivors was effected, and a committee was appointed to supervise the publication, with authority to add such documents and facts as would render it more complete.

This publication is submitted in the belief that it will prove an interesting chapter in the history of the great political events which culminated in the preservation of the Union, and the elimination therefrom of that "relic of barbarism," human slavery. And while we would do nothing to unnecessarily arouse unpleasant memories of those troublous times, it is meet that the truth of history should be preserved, and due credit be given those who led in the great struggle for human rights, at a time when contumely, reproach and violence was their only sure reward.

Those of us who survive can now look back upon our work with satisfaction, thanking Providence that we, with our fellow-citizens of all classes and parties, can look forward, not merely to a Union

preserved, but to one whose power and greatness increase as the years roll on. Our rallying cry now, as then, shall ever be—

“The union of lakes, the union of lands,  
*The Union of States none can sever,*  
 The union of hearts, the union of hands,  
 And the FLAG of our Union forever.”

A. C. RICHARDS,

W. C. DODGE,

G. R. WILSON,

*Committee.*

WASHINGTON. *Feby.* 20, 1889.

WASHINGTON, *January 14, 1889.*

LEWIS CLEPHANE, Esq.

DEAR SIR : The undersigned members of the Republican Club of 1855-1860, for themselves and in behalf of the survivors of the Club, wish to pay you a personal call, and they desire that you should name a day on which it would be agreeable to receive them.

This request is prompted in view of the restoration of the Government of the country to the hands of the Great Republican Party.

The Club they represent was the germ of the party of to-day, and as they have reason to be more than proud of its growth and achievements, and regarding you, with your five associates, as its progenitor, we wish to extend to you and to each other our hearty congratulation.

Very respectfully,

A. C. RICHARDS,  
G. R. WILSON,  
DANIEL BREED,  
ADOLF CLUSS,  
A. G. HALL,  
G. A. HALL,  
JOS. F. HODGSON,  
W. H. GOODS,  
GEO. W. McELFRESH,  
SAMUEL BOND.

WASHINGTON, *January 16, 1889.*

GENTLEMEN: I am in receipt of your favor of the 14th inst., informing me that you, as a committee in behalf of the surviving members of the Republican Clubs of 1855 and 1860, would be pleased to make me a personal call and desiring me to name a day on which it would be agreeable to receive them.

I desire to say that I shall be absent from the city for a few days, but it will afford me great pleasure to receive and extend a hearty welcome to all the surviving members of the Republican Association of 1855-1860. and the Wide-Awakes also, in a social reunion at my residence, No. 1225 K street, on the evening of January 26, on which occasion I have no doubt we will have many pleasant and unpleasant reminiscences of the early history of Republicanism in this city to relate.

I have the honor to be, yours, &c.,

LEWIS CLEPHANE.

To Messrs. A. C. RICHARDS, G. R. WILSON and others,

*Committee.*

In accordance with the above correspondence, the surviving members of the Republican Association of 1855-1860 and the Wide-Awakes called to pay their respects in person to their old leader, organizer, and staunch Republican friend, Lewis Clephane.

After half an hour spent in hand-shaking and pleasant conversation, Mr. A. C. Richards, on behalf of the Associations, made the following address :

## Address of Maj. A. C. Richards.

MR. CLEPHANE: It is in response to your kind invitation and your hospitality that we are here to-night. We come here because we want to meet you as our leader and our organizer in the days gone by. We look back, some of us, as far as 1855, when you were our presiding officer, when you organized and assisted others to organize the Republican party of the United States. We remember when that party was young; we remember, also, that you were of the foremost and first in all matters looking to the success of the Republican organization. We also know and have learned to love you as a man of principle, and of political and personal integrity. We have long followed you, and we congratulate you upon your success in life, not only politically, but in the practical affairs which surround all men. We hope that this meeting to-night will be productive of the renewal of those old associations and memories of the past.

As in the days of yore so do we now greet you as a man and as a Republican of unswerving principle and integrity. One whom neither fear nor favor, patronage nor pelf, has succeeded in diverting from the espousal of and adherence to principles of freedom and humanity.

I cannot but contrast this scene with the scenes and events by which we were surrounded and in which we participated now twenty-eight years ago. Then, as now, a Presidential election had recently taken place. Then, as now, the administration of our national affairs had just been rescued from the Democratic party and was about to pass into the hands of a Republican Administration; but then, as *not* now, the political sky was overcast with clouds ominous of discord and portent with sectional strife and impending gloom. Violence, bloodshed, and war's alarms were about to burst upon our land with all the fury of civil war. Then men met and spoke in bated breath; neighbor suspected neighbor, and social chaos prevailed. Then it was not safe for an avowed Republican to appear on our streets. Then a man suspected of Republican proclivities even was avoided, proscribed, and despised by the mass of our citizens. And then, as *not* now, it was a serious and momentous question whether the President-elect could be peaceably and successfully inaugurated on the then approaching

4th of March. How marvelously strange and unnatural it now seems, in the light of the past, that any man or set of men could have, even in those days, contemplated violent resistance to the inauguration as President of that grandest, noblest, kindest, and most magnanimous of men, Abraham Lincoln! And yet, alas, it is true, too true, that the spirit of treason and assassination then possessed the minds of men. But however pregnant the retrospect of those days is with scenes and events which arouse thought, reflection, and reminiscence, I must forbear to consume time for that purpose. You will revive the scenes and incidents of the past much more vividly and interestingly than I can do.

Mr. Clephane, it gives me genuine pleasure to present to you these veteran Republicans, your political associates and compatriots of 1855 to 1860, and who have never ceased to cherish your name and your deeds as a Republican and a fellow-citizen.

### Mr. Clephane's Response.

Mr. Clephane replied as follows :

GENTLEMEN : It affords me pleasure to meet so many of my old friends and early political associates to-night, and it is a source of congratulation that so many of you are living at the present day and are able to meet here on the occasion of this reunion. The faces before me carry me back some twenty-eight or thirty years : the scenes of those days rise up vividly before me. Of the twenty-six who composed the membership of the Republican Association at the close of the year 1856, Messrs. A. C. Richards, Jas. Gooch, Daniel R. Goodloe, Wm. Ockstadt, Jacob Fussell, Wm. Pope, and myself are the only survivors to-day, and I am glad to welcome two of that number here to-night and so many of those who were members at a later period. While the Chairman has been very complimentary in his remarks about myself, I certainly deserve no more than you all, for every one of you in those days, from 1855 to 1861, stood nobly and fearlessly by the cause we were then seeking to promote. In those days, at the National Capital, if a man declared himself a Republican, he was, in the words of Hamilton, "doomed to perpetual ostracism from the esteem, the confidence, the honor, and the emoluments of his country." We all have realized these facts. None of us, however, in the early days

of the Republican Party, calculated upon the emoluments of office; there was little to look forward to in that line at that time. In those days it was a crime to be called a Republican, and every man who was then known as a Republican was denounced as an Abolitionist. We have fought the battle. "We builded better than we knew." The seed which we then planted has taken root, and we are to-day enjoying its fruit as the great Republican Party of the country. I do not know that it is necessary for me to say much more. I thank you for appearing here to-night. I thank you for the feeling that you have toward me, and I certainly reciprocate fully such feelings towards each one of you.

It has been suggested by some of our friends that it would be a proper thing for me to go over the history of the Republican Association from its first organization, and I have prepared some facts giving a historical account of that Association, which facts it may be proper to present to you to-night.

Therefore, yielding to the request and believing it may not be out of place on this occasion to go back some 33 years and trace the history of the Republican Association of Washington City, which was so closely identified with the early history of the great Republican Party of to-day, and an Association which at that time was regarded as a National Organization. True, its membership was few in numbers up to the close of the year 1855, but the gratuitous labor performed by its members had a telling effect upon the rise, progress, and prosperity of the Republican Party, backed as it was by the few Republican Senators and Members of the House of Representatives at that time.

In the early part of June, 1855, four others and myself conceived the idea of forming an Association based upon the great principles which were then agitating the country.

On the 19th of June, 1855, a small club was organized and issued the following as its platform:

**DECLARATION, PLATFORM, AND CONSTITUTION OF THE REPUBLICAN ASSOCIATION OF WASHINGTON, DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.**

Whereas, by the repeal of the eighth section of the act for the admission of Missouri into the Union, the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska have been opened to the introduction of slavery, and all the compromises, real or imaginary, upon that subject, are thus violated and annulled, and deep dishonor inflicted upon the age in which we live:

Now, therefore, in co operation with all those throughout the land who oppose this and other similar measures, which we deem to be contrary to the spirit of the Constitution, and which are designed to extend and per-

petuate slavery, we do associate ourselves together, under the name and title of THE REPUBLICAN ASSOCIATION OF WASHINGTON, D. C.

And we adopt the following as our political Platform, to wit:

FIRST. That Congress possesses no power over the institution of slavery in the several States; but that, outside of State jurisdiction, the constitutional power of the Federal Government should be exerted to secure LIFE, LIBERTY, and HAPPINESS to all men, and therefore,

SECOND. There should be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except for the punishment of crime, in any of the Territories of the United States.

THIRD. The people are the rightful source of all political power; and all officers should, as far as practicable, be chosen by a direct vote of the people.

FOURTH. Candidates for political offices should be men of undoubted integrity and sobriety, and pledged to support the principles of this Platform by all lawful and constitutional means.

We did not elect a president of the Association for some time after its organization, because we hoped to select a man for that office who would give prominence and efficiency to the organization. Efforts were made to secure Mr. Francis P. Blair, Sr., who had been from the days of Gen. Jackson up to within a short period the editor of the "*Globe*," the organ of the Democratic party, and who had but recently split off from that party and become identified with a party which was then styled "Independent Democracy."

But no persuasion, although urged by many prominent Republican Senators and Members of the House of Representatives, could induce him to do so, stating as a reason his age and his determination not to enter the political arena again. Finally, however, it was arranged that we should elect him president and he would resign, with a letter for publication defining his position. This letter was dated Dec. 1, 1855, and was published in all the prominent newspapers of the country and printed in pamphlet form by this Association and largely circulated.

This letter had a powerful effect upon the Democratic party and caused many of them to desert their old party ties and unite with the Republican Party. (See appendix marked A.)

On January 17, 1856, we published and circulated largely an earnest appeal to the friends of the cause throughout the country to organize clubs, however small in number, and send a list of their officers to this Association to be recorded, for the purpose of sending them documents and general political information, sending with it our platform of principles and a simple Constitution and By-Laws. These were furnished in quantities to the Republican

Members and Senators, and by them enclosed in all their letters, besides being very extensively published in the newspapers, particularly in the rural districts. (See appendix marked B.)

The result of this was that these clubs sprang up like magic all over the country. Our register showed a receipt of nearly 50 a week, which were duly registered by States, counties, and, as far as possible, by school districts, together with a list of each of their officers.

Every speech delivered by Republicans in Congress was published by the thousands of copies and paid for principally by our friends in Congress and also franked by them. As we were but a small party at that time and without funds, we had to rely largely for their circulation by disposing of them at the mere cost of printing, and the members of the Association doing the work gratuitously of directing and mailing.

It is astonishing the immense number we circulated in this way.

In this work of distributing documents we were greatly assisted by the *National Era* newspaper, which gave us the use of its columns free of all expense, and to William Blanchard and Martin Buell, printers. We had also in our employ a German scholar for the purpose of translating all these political documents into the German language.

We now come to the time when the Republican Party was to be nationalized or consolidated into a national party, and it will be seen that this Association had much to do in its formation and organization.

### Organization of the Republican Party.

The Republican Party, as a distinct party, came into existence in February, 1856. Prior to that time and during the latter part of the year 1854, in three or more of the States, Republican Party organizations were started for local election purposes, but never felt strong enough to stand forth as a distinct party, and they generally coalesced with the other parties for the purpose of carrying some local election. At this time there were various political organizations in the country working under different party names, namely, Democratic, Whig, Abolition, Anti-Slavery, Free-Soil, Independent Democrat, People's Party, and American or Know-Nothing, and probably some others.

The agitation of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise and the Kansas and Nebraska trouble, and the persistent determination of the Democratic Party to force slavery into the Territories, were the main causes which led many of the members of these various parties to change their party affiliations.

When the American or Know-Nothing party started many of our anti-slavery friends went over to that party, with the hope of getting a controlling interest, so as to introduce into its platform an anti-slavery plank; so also men from all parties flocked into this new-born American party with various objects in view, until in a very short time that party became one of the most powerful party organizations.

All parties became alarmed at its power and influence. It certainly had the effect of being a kind of dissolving element in all the parties, and factions from each of the older parties seemed willing to unite with it for the purpose of giving them some temporary power and place in local elections.

Taking advantage of this chaotic condition of parties, it was thought advisable by some to quietly work up a new party, avoiding all the entangling opinions and sentiments of the other parties, based on the simple idea of "non-extension of slavery into the Territories." While these sentiments prevailed very extensively, particularly in the West, it was some time before any regular national party organization was effected.

The call for this National Convention was issued January 17, 1856, for a meeting to be held at Pittsburg, Pa., on the 22d day of February, 1856.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *January 17, 1856.*

*To the Republicans of the United States:*

In accordance with what appears to be the general desire of the Republican Party, and at the suggestion of a large portion of the Republican press, the undersigned, chairmen of the State Republican Committees of Maine, Vermont, Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, and Wisconsin, hereby invite the Republicans of the Union to meet in informal Convention at Pittsburg, on the 22d February, 1856, for the purpose of perfecting the National Organization, and providing for a National Delegate Convention of the Republican Party, at some subsequent day, to nominate candidates for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency, to be supported at the election in November, 1856.

A. P. STONE, of Ohio.  
J. Z. GOODRICH, of Mass.  
DAVID WILMOT, of Pa.  
LAWRENCE BRAINERD, of Vt.  
WILLIAM A. WHITE, of Wis.

Although this call was promulgated first and purposely from the West, and signed by the Governors of five States who were partially elected by Republican votes or who had since their election affiliated with the Republican Party, nevertheless it is true the call was prepared in this city and sent out West to be first issued from there.

Still feeling the importance of having Mr. Blair fully identified with our party, I urged him to be one of our delegates to the Pittsburg Convention, but he was unwilling to do so. Failing in this, as Secretary of the Association I wrote to some Quaker friends in Baltimore, and requested them to organize a club and send Mr. Blair as their delegate from Maryland, as I was convinced he would accept. They did as I desired, and he accepted, being astonished and pleased to find a Republican Party in Baltimore, as he informed me.

I had the honor of being your delegate to that Convention.

On the evening of February 21st an informal meeting was held of delegates to the Convention in the parlors of the Monongahela Hotel, Pittsburg, for the purpose of a preliminary arrangement of the Convention. This meeting seemed to have been ill advised, as it was a difficult matter to harmonize the various party interests which were there represented, composed as it was of Democrats, Whigs, Free-Soilers, Abolitionists, and Know-Nothings, and each striving for the ascendancy in the organization of the convention. The consequence was the meeting broke up with much bad blood engendered, and every one feeling disposed to predict a failure of the Convention.

Mr. J. W. Stone, of Boston, a very zealous Republican, knowing I had considerable to do in getting up the Convention, called upon me after this meeting to consult as what was best to be done in view of what had occurred. After consultation, we decided upon the plan of selecting one man from each State and requesting them to meet in private consultation at 8 o'clock in the morning.

To carry out this plan required great secrecy and an entire night's work. We succeeded in getting some eight or ten present in the morning, among them, as far as I can remember, were Owen Lovejoy of Ill., Hon. Wm. Dennison of Ohio, E. D. Morgan of N. Y., Gov. K. S. Bingham of Mich., J. W. Stone of Boston, C. M. K. Puleston of N. J., and myself.

I believe all these parties are now dead except myself, and perhaps Mr. Puleston, who afterwards went to England and became a member of the British Parliament.

At this little meeting we laid out a plan for the organization of the Convention, and fortunately carried it out in all its details without anyone outside of ourselves being the wiser. So afraid were we that our plans would get out that we even selected Owen Lovejoy to open the Convention with prayer.

At this conference I proposed Mr. Blair for President of the Convention, which took them all by surprise, as they were not aware he was there or in sympathy with us, but on my assuring them that he was, they all agreed he was the man, and I was made chairman of a committee to wait upon him to ascertain if he would accept, which he did after much hesitancy and earnest solicitation on the part of the committee and others who chanced to be in his room at the time, and he was elected to preside over that Convention.

At the close of the Convention Dr. J. W. Stone, of Boston, and myself were appointed to prepare and publish the official report of the Convention.

The following resolutions were also passed :

On motion of Wm. A. Sackett, of New York :

*Resolved*, That the Central Republican Association at Washington city is recognized by this Convention as an important branch of the Republican organization, and to it we delegate the duty of extending information from that point to the people throughout the United States by the circulation and distribution of documents and speeches.

Judge Spalding moved that the proceedings of the Convention be published in pamphlet form by the Republican Association of Washington city, and that a committee be appointed to raise funds. Carried.

Mr. Ripley, of New Jersey, moved an adjournment *sine die*. Not recognized by the Chair.

John A. King, of New York. Brethren, we have nobly, gloriously, and temperately achieved the great work. Let us stand firmly where we are, and in the coming strife let us "quit ourselves like men." Mr. President, I now move that this Convention adjourn *sine die*.

I mention these facts to show what an important bearing this Association, through your delegate, had upon that Convention and the early history of the Party.

I might give you many details in connection with that Convention, but it is unnecessary, as it is a matter of record. I have only to say it proved to be one of the most enthusiastic and harmonious conventions ever held.

I have now presented you with the history of the birth and organization of the Republican Association of Washington, D. C., and also of the great Republican Party of to-day.

This Convention appointed an Executive Committee to call a convention for the nominating of candidates to be supported for the offices of President and Vice-President of the United States.

The Committee met in this city on March 27, 1856, for that purpose; and let me here relate a fact, that so important was the wording of that call regarded, so as to offend no one and draw in from the ranks of all parties, that we were two days in session at Willard's Hotel in preparing this simple call for the nominating convention.

*To the People of the United States:*

The People of the United States, without regard to past political differences or divisions, who are opposed to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, to the policy of the present Administration, to the extension of Slavery into the Territories, in favor of the admission of Kansas as a free State, and of restoring the action of the Federal Government to the principles of Washington and Jefferson, are invited by the National Committee, appointed by the Pittsburgh Convention of the 22d of February, 1856, to send from each State three Delegates from every Congressional district, and six Delegates at large, to meet in PHILADELPHIA, *on the seventeenth day of June next*, for the purpose of recommending candidates to be supported for the offices of President and Vice-President of the United States.

E. D. MORGAN, New York,  
FRANCIS P. BLAIR, Maryland,  
JOHN M. NILES, Connecticut,  
DAVID WILMOT, Pennsylvania,  
A. P. STONE, Ohio,  
WILLIAM M. CHASE, Rhode Island,  
JOHN Z. GOODRICH, Massachusetts,  
GEORGE RYE, Virginia,  
ABNER R. HALLOWELL, Maine,  
E. S. LELAND, Illinois,  
CHARLES DICKEY, Michigan,  
GEORGE G. FOGG, New Hampshire,  
A. J. STEVENS, Iowa,  
CORNELIUS COLE, California,  
LAWRENCE BRAINERD, Vermont,  
WILLIAM GROSE, Indiana,  
WYMAN SPOONER, Wisconsin,  
C. M. K. PAULISON, New Jersey,  
E. D. WILLIAMS, Delaware,  
JOHN G. FEE, Kentucky,  
JAMES REDPATH, Missouri,  
LEWIS CLEPHANE, Dist. of Columbia,  
*National Committee.*

WASHINGTON, March 29, 1851.

The following were our delegates to the Philadelphia Convention: B. B. French, Jacob Bigelow, Lewis Clephane.

When that Convention met it nominated John C. Fremont for the office of President and Wm. L. Dayton for the office of Vice-President. What was the result of the election? Certainly not the election of our noble standard-bearer—no! but the election carried surprise and fear for the future to all the parties, and terror to the slave-holding States.

Let us consider for a moment the result of that election by a *new* party only about a year old.

These are the figures:

*Vote of 1856.*

*Popular votes in the free States :*

|               |           |
|---------------|-----------|
| Fremont.....  | 1,336,924 |
| Buchanan..... | 1,222,066 |
| Fillmore..... | 394,647   |

*Popular votes in the free and slave States :*

|               |           |
|---------------|-----------|
| Fremont.....  | 1,338,171 |
| Buchanan..... | 1,863,991 |
| Fillmore..... | 892,659   |

Fremont's popular votes in the free States over Buchanan was 114,858, whilst Buchanan's over Fremont, with the Southern States, was only 525,820.

The popular vote of the States going for Fremont was 47 per cent. of all—his electoral vote was only 39 per cent.

Buchanan's States cast only 51 per cent. of all the votes; yet gave him 59 per cent. of the electors.

This election certainly did not discourage the Republicans or disband the party, but on the contrary made it stronger, more united, and confident of future success.

As for our own Association, we were greatly encouraged, our membership increased largely, and we became a still more efficient organization. This is evidenced from the following address and resolutions passed by our Association on Nov. 29, 1856, and published. (See appendix marked C.)

After the Presidential election of 1856 we reorganized, enlarged the field of our operations, rented a hall in the building which is now the Tremont Hotel, fitted it up with shelves to hold our

large supply of political documents, and continued vigorously in their distribution, besides holding weekly political meetings, which were addressed by some of the most prominent statesmen of the day.

In August, 1860, we organized a company of Wide Awakes numbering some 200 members, which performed very effective work during the campaign.

### The Lincoln Campaign.

We come now to the campaign of 1860, which resulted in the election of that noble man, Abraham Lincoln.

Our Association at that time numbered some 700 members.

I will not here allude to what followed that election and the results thereof—these are matters of history—but I do want to say that the Republicans of this city, surrounded as they were by dangers on every hand, threatened, vilified, abused, and ostracised by their fellow-citizens, stood firm, fearless, and true to their principles.

Pardon me for calling to your mind the occasion when we tendered Senator Trumbull, of Ills., at his residence a serenade, and whilst the Hon. E. B. Washburne, of Ills., was addressing us the outrageous assault made by the Democratic roughs of Washington, by throwing stones and other missiles, compelling the speakers and others to take refuge indoors, smashing some of the instruments of the band, and dispersing the large audience in attendance.

And, again, the attack upon the "Wigwam," our then headquarters at the corner of 2d St. and Indiana avenue (now the "Tremont Hotel"), by a semi-military company styled "National Volunteers," on the evening when we had been receiving the returns from the election which had decided the election of Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, and after all the members had left the building, with the exception of some five or six who were compelled to fly to the roof for refuge from their attack.

These and many other unprovoked *personal* attacks are fresh in your memory.

(For full particulars of the attack upon the "Wigwam," see extracts from the local press of the day. Appendix D.)

On the election of Mr. Lincoln we found ourselves without a Republican newspaper organ in the city, and in November, 1860, Wm. Blanchard, Martin Buell, W. J. Murtagh, and myself determined to start a Republican newspaper as a necessity, to represent the Republican Party of the city, and not with any hope of its being remunerative. On the 26th of Nov., 1860, we issued the first number of the *National Republican*, under the auspices of the Republican Association. This paper went through many vicissitudes and changes, but continued in existence until the nomination of Benj. Harrison as the Republican candidate for President, in 1888, when it went out of existence without a groan—or even an opportunity afforded to say farewell to its friends—strangled by Democracy.

### Lincoln's Inauguration.

And now we come to the time for the inauguration of Abraham Lincoln, President-elect of the United States.

At that time there was a dark and ominous cloud hanging over the entire country, fear and trembling seemed to have seized every one.

The question was agitated as to whether it was not best to depart from the usual form and have Mr. Lincoln inaugurated privately.

The Republican Association of this city said emphatically no. The majority of the Republican Senators and Members said no. Gen. Scott, the commanding officer of the United States forces, said yes.

But notwithstanding Gen. Scott's protest, the Association went forward and made all the arrangements for the ceremonies.

Mr. B. B. French, our then President of the Association, was made chief marshal, for be it remembered, the Association had the entire management of the ceremonies outside of the Senate and House of Representatives.

Having partially completed our arrangements, Mr. French and myself, the committee on the part of the Association, waited upon Gen. Scott to confer with him in regard to it. We were at first met with a stern rebuke, in which he endeavored to point out the danger attending such a procession as we proposed, and insisted upon our reading several threatening letters received by him, as

also friendly warnings. We argued with him long and earnestly, apparently without much success, until the entrance of Gen. Wool, who had been attending a meeting of the Peace Convention, which was being held in Willard's Hall, and who seemed particularly happy over the prospects of good results from that Convention. They fell into each others arms like two children and fairly wept for joy. This seemed to mollify Gen. Scott exceedingly. We then sat down and again talked the matter over, and entered finally into the following arrangement :

First. There were to be no Wide Awakes in the procession.

Second. No banners bearing inscriptions.

Third. He was to place sharp-shooters upon the tops of the highest houses on Pennsylvania avenue.

Fourth. He was to station artillery at each of the cross streets.

Fifth. He would order to Washington all the U. S. Military stationed within a convenient distance to take part in the Inaugural procession.

With this understanding we were allowed to proceed with the procession.

We next called upon President Buchanan who received us very cordially and seconded all Gen. Scott's plans, and informed us that it would afford him pleasure to tender his carriage and accompany Mr. Lincoln to the Capitol to be sworn in.

On making this known to Mr. Lincoln he appeared much gratified and readily accepted the kind offer.

We had a very creditable procession and no disturbance of any kind.

Our ball, the building for which was erected in the rear and attached to the City Hall, although a very handsome affair, did not prove a financial success or largely attended.

I here close our record as an Association of which we have reason to be justly proud ; our subsequent record was made on the battle field where many of our associates fell in defense of our country.

As a matter of history it may be proper for me to state before closing, and it gives me great pleasure to do so, that notwithstanding the fact that the citizens of the District were largely disloyal at the breaking out of the rebellion, yet, according to the report of the Adjutant-General, Nov. 9, 1880, *the very first volun-*

*teers enrolled in the service of the United States were citizens of the District.*

While but seven States of the Union filled their quotas, the District of Columbia filled her quota and furnished an excess of 18½ per cent. more—a record not equalled by any State in the Union but one, and that only by including her “Home Guards,” of whom there were in the District many not included in the record.

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## APPENDICES.

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### APPENDIX A.

Letter of Francis P. Blair, Esq., to the Republican Association of Washington.

REPUBLICAN ROOMS,  
WASHINGTON, December 10, 1855.

The annexed letter from Francis P. Blair, Esq., was presented and read at the regular meeting of the Republican Association of this city, Saturday evening, the 8th instant, and the following resolutions were unanimously adopted, and also one urging Mr. Blair to reconsider his determination to decline the Presidency of the Association.

*Resolved*, That the thanks of this Association be presented to Francis P. Blair, Esq., for his able and highly satisfactory letter, showing that the present Administration has departed entirely from the Jeffersonian principles relative to the government of the Territories of the United States, and has become but little better than a working model of John C. Calhoun's Nullification and Disunion doctrines.

*Resolved*, That a copy of the letter and resolutions be offered the city papers for publication, and be issued in pamphlet form for general circulation, to strengthen the hands of Republicans, to unite all discordant opinions, and induce good men of all parties to use their influence to bring this Government back to its original principles of Freedom, and to stand upon the issues therein presented, in the next Presidential election.

LEWIS CLEPHANE,  
*Secretary.*

SILVER SPRING, MD., Dec. 1, 1855.

GENTLEMEN : Having relinquished political employment, and, to avoid encountering again its anxieties, addicted myself to country life, I am constrained to decline your invitation to join the Republican Association of Washington City, although tempted by the honor of becoming its presiding officer. Yet I feel it my duty to say, that in the main I concur in the aims of the Association. To exclude slavery from the Territories of the United States, and to rebuke the violation of the Compromises, which were made to stand as covenants between the slave and Free States to effect that ex-

clusion, are, in my opinion, the most important movements which have engaged the public mind since the Revolution.

The extension of slavery over the new Territories would prove fatal to their prosperity ; but the greatest calamity to be apprehended from it is the destruction of the Confederacy, on which the welfare of the whole country reposes. Every conquest of this element of discord, which has so often threatened the dissolution of the Union, increases the danger. Every surrender of the Free States invites invasion.

The cause which your organization is intended to promote may well draw to its support men of all parties. Differences on questions of policy, of constitutional construction, of modes of administration, may well be merged, to unite men who believe that nothing but concert of action on the part of those who would arrest the spread of slavery can resist the power of the combination now embodied to make it embrace the Continent from ocean to ocean.

The repealing clause of the Kansas Bill is predicted on the nullity of the clause in the Constitution which gives Congress the power "to make regulations respecting the Territories" of the United States. Yet nothing is clearer in the history of our Government than that this phrase, giving power to Congress "to make regulations respecting the Territories," was meant to give it the power to exclude slavery from them.

Mr. Jefferson's resolutions of 1784, declaring "*that there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in any of the States*" laid off in the Western Territory, was subsequently renewed in the Congress of 1785, which added "*that this regulation shall be an article of compact*;" and it was so voted unanimously by the delegation of eight States out of twelve.

It was passed by the unanimous votes of all the States by the Congress of 1787, which sat contemporaneously with the Convention forming the Constitution, and that Constitution gave Congress the power "*to make regulations respecting the Territories*," and moreover affirmed the validity of "*the engagements entered into before the adoption of the Constitution*" by the Confederation—one of which engagements was that made by the regulation excluding slavery from the Territories. Thus the Congress of the Confederation and the Convention framing the Constitution united in giving a double sanction to the exclusion.

The first exerted the power of enacting Mr. Jefferson's interdict of slavery in the Territories *then held* by the United States, to which it had previously given an impressive sanction by adding, "this regulation shall be an article of compact," &c.; and the Convention guaranteed this "engagement," entered into under the Confederation, by declaring it "valid," and employed the same terms, "*regulation of the Territories*," to transmit the power here exerted to future Congresses. In the face of this history and the letter of the Constitution granting the power to make whatever regulations it deemed fit respecting the Territories of the United States, the authors of the Kansas and Nebraska Bill deny the constitutionality of all the regulations which exclude slavery from the Territories, and set at naught all the precedents that confirm them, which have followed in uninterrupted succession from the foundation of the Government.

That other clause in the Constitution, empowering Congress to pass laws to prevent the "migration or importation" of slaves after 1808, shows the fixed purpose of the founders of our Union to limit the increase of this evil. The consequence was an inhibition, which prevents a South Carolina planter, who has slaves in Cuba, from bringing them to his home plantation ; and to remove this obstruction to the increase of slavery within the Union, and open Africa to supply the demand made by the new act, the Northern nullifiers are already called on by their Southern allies to lend their aid ; and certainly those who embrace Mr. Calhoun's doctrine, as stated by Mr. Douglas, that "every citizen has an inalienable right to move

into any of the Territories with his property, of whatever kind or description," the Constitution and Compromises notwithstanding, can hardly refuse it. It was on the annexation of the Mexican Territories that Mr. Calhoun asserted this principle, to unsettle the fixed policy of the Nation, beginning with the era of the Declaration of Independence; and he applied it alike to the Compromises of 1820 and 1850. Mr. Douglas thus sums up the position taken, and the result:

"Under this section, *as in the case of the Mexican law in New Mexico and Utah*, it is a disputed point whether slavery is prohibited in the Nebraska country by valid enactment. The decision of this question involves the constitutional power of Congress to pass laws prescribing and regulating the domestic institutions of the various Territories of the Union. In the opinion of those eminent statesmen who hold that Congress is invested with no rightful authority to legislate upon the subject of slavery in the Territories, the eighth section of the act preparatory to the admission of Missouri is null and void, while the prevailing sentiment in a large portion of the Union sustains the doctrine that the Constitution of the United States secures to every citizen an *inalienable right* to move into any of the Territories with his property, of whatever kind and description, and to hold and enjoy the same under the sanction of law. Your committee do not feel themselves called upon to enter into the discussion of these controverted questions. They involve the same grave issues which produced the agitation, the sectional strife, and the fearful struggle of 1850."

From this it appears that the Compromises of 1820 and 1850 involved the question of the validity of the law of Mexico excluding slavery from the newly-ceded Mexican Territory, and the law of our own Congress excluding it from that north of the line of 36° 30'. Mr. Douglas' Committee Report recommended, that as—

"Congress deemed it wise and prudent to refrain from deciding the matters in controversy then, *either by affirming or repealing the Mexican laws, or by an act declaratory of the true intent of the Constitution*, and the extent of the protection afforded by it to slave property in the Territories, so your Committee are not prepared now to recommend a departure from the course pursued on that memorable occasion, either by affirming or repealing the eighth section of the Missouri act, or by any act declaratory of the meaning of the Constitution in respect to the legal points in dispute."

These passages are quoted to show that the issues made by Mr. Calhoun, as to the constitutionality of the two Compromises of 1820 and 1850, were expressly left open for judicial decision, by the Committee, who nevertheless swept away, by a clause subsequently added to their bill, not only the Missouri Compromise of 1820, but also the Compromise of 1850, which left untouched the Mexican laws prohibiting slavery in the ceded Territories, and which Webster, Clay, Benton, and all the leading lights of the Senate (with the exception of Mr. Calhoun), pronounced valid, and an effectual restriction.

This repeal was the adoption of Mr. Calhoun's nullifying doctrine *in extenso*. The power of Congress to make laws excluding slavery forever from its Territories, *as such*, was denied, and all the Territories were opened to slavery, on the ground of the "*inalienable right*" of every citizen "*to move into any of the Territories with his property, of whatever kind or description;*" and the law of *squatter sovereignty* was superadded, and substituted for the sovereignty of the United States over the public domain. Thus fell, at the dictation of Mr. Atchison, supported by the coalition effected between the Whigs and Democrats of the South, under the pressure and through the intrigues of the Nullifiers, Mr. Jefferson's noble principle, endeared to the country both for its moral grandeur and political wisdom. It is the first thought uttered in the Declaration of Independence; and to the denunciation of the king of Great Britain for the crime of bringing slavery to our

shores, the original draft adds, as the deepest aggravation, that "*he has prostituted his negative for suppressing every legislative attempt to prohibit or to restrain this execrable commerce.*"

The first legislative attempt to restrain the progress of the mischief which the King of Great Britain visited upon this country was Mr. Jefferson's resolution excluding slavery from the territory of the United States in 1784—the next was that introduced by Rufus King in 1785—the third, that of Nathan Dane in 1787—all receiving the vote of two-thirds of the States of the Confederacy, and the last the unanimous vote.

The fourth movement was that of the Convention, in the Constitution itself, providing against the importation of slaves after 1808, declaring the binding validity of the engagements entered by the Congress of the Confederacy on the Government of the United States, to exclude it from the territory, and securing to the new Government the power of making similar provision for future acquisitions of territory. The fifth regulation to restrain the progress of slavery was that of the Compromise of 1820—the sixth, that of 1850. It is remarkable, that although these great measures had their origin with Democratic leaders, Federal and Whig leaders of greatest renown united in their support. The constitutional provisions on the subject had the unanimous suffrage of all the illustrious men in the Convention who framed the Constitution of the United States; and from the silence on the subject in the State Conventions called to ratify the Constitution, it may well be presumed that these also were unanimous in their approval of what had been done under the Confederacy and in the new Constitution to restrain the introduction and limit the extension of slavery. And may not men of all parties now unite to restore what the patriots of all parties, during the first seventy years of our Government, contributed to establish?

The work of restoration is simple and easy, if the men who abhor the late innovation on the long-settled policy of the nation can be induced to relinquish petty differences on transitory topics, and give their united voice, in the next Presidential election, for some man whose capacity, fidelity, and courage can be relied upon to oppose the issue which the present Administration has made to oppose it. The contest has grown out of Presidential aspirations. The decision of the people at the polls, in choosing a Chief Magistrate, will end it. Senators will easily comply, when the nation's demand is backed by the existing Presidential power and patronage, and hopes of the future succession, which always animate the leading members of the body.

The Administration has staked itself on the support of the party of privilege—of class interest—which makes it a unit. It confides in the success which has crowned the oligarchy everywhere in the Old World, and secured its triumphs on the maxim, "*Divide and conquer.*" The Whigs and Democrats of the South are a combination, to carry into the next Presidency some candidate absolute in maintaining the repealing clause of the Kansas bill, which nullifies the principles of the Ordinance, the provisions of the Constitution made to give them effect, and all the Compromises which have been made in pursuance of them, with the sanction of all sections of the Union. If the majority favorable to the policy built up with our Government will unite, accept the issue tendered by the Administration, and make the REPEAL OF THE REPEALING CLAUSE OF THE KANSAS ACT paramount in the impending contest for the Presidency, all will be restored that has been lost to free institutions by opening the Territories, North and South, to slavery. The Compromises of 1820 and 1850 being restored, there will not be an inch of the territory of the United States, once exempt from slavery, on which it can legally intrude; and Mr. Atchison's attempt by an armed force to carry out the nullification plotted of the caucus which gave birth to the Kansas bill will, like the attempt of his prototype, Mr. Calhoun, to give effect to

South Carolina nullification, be paralyzed by the frown of an indignant nation, made potent by an honest and firm Executive.

And there will end the career of those gentlemen who arrogate to themselves the exclusive tutelage of the Democracy of the country, as ended that of Mr. Calhoun and his proselytes, who took the peculiar charge of the "State Rights" party. They sunk, under the universal conviction that their zeal for State Rights was an ardent passion to reach political power, at the hazard of extinguishing in the blood of the people the wine and free institutions it had cost so much to establish.

Our innovating Democrats, who put under foot the representative principle; who violate the known will of their constituents; who scorn their instructions to redress the wrong they have committed; who reply to the suffrages that condemn their conduct, that they are not Democratic suffrages; who, in the plenitude of their infallibility, read out of the Democratic party Maine, New Hampshire, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin, and Iowa, because they will not submit to the will of these, their Representatives; who have set up a test which must forever exclude Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Vermont; who have bartered away the rights secured to them by all compacts—will soon learn that Democracy does not reside in the organization of intriguers, but in the mass of the people.

It is the glory of our great Republic that its Democracy springs up from the soil and flourishes in the fresh air of our wide-spread country; and that its rich harvests, imparting health, strength, and spirit to our whole system, is gathered annually at the polls. The Democracy which is bred in caucuses and Cabinets is a sort of hot-bed species—a delicacy suited to the taste of epicurean politicians, whose appetites are their principles. Incumbents and expectants of offices and dignities claim a sort of patent right in the machine of Government to create a Democracy adapted to their purposes. Their innovations in the machinery are contrivances to renew their privileges for new terms, and the people are the subjects who are to be used up in it—to pay tribute for this privilege, and take pride in the skill of the operators.

The telegraph wires and the Cincinnati Convention are to bring all the masterly combinations of the Administration in contact with the masses at the appointed time. But will the wires work? Undoubtedly the people, far and wide, will have their instructions from the operators; but the response will probably be a thunderbolt to those who have violated their rights, spurned their remonstrances, and, as a consequence, have arrayed brothers from the different sections of the Union to shed each others' blood, in civil war, on the plains of Kansas.

Yours respectfully,

F. P. BLAIR.

To Messrs. DANIEL R. GOODLOE and LEWIS CLEPHANE,  
*Cor. Com. of the Republican Association of Washington City, D. C.*

#### APPENDIX B.

#### A Circular to the Friends of the Republican Movement Throughout the United States.

REPUBLICAN ROOMS,  
WASHINGTON, D. C., Jan. 17, 1856.

DEAR SIR: The undersigned have been appointed a Committee, on the part of the Association, whose declaration, platform, and constitution accompany this, to address a circular letter to our Republican friends urging upon their attention the importance of immediate and thorough organiza-

tion of clubs or associations, somewhat similar to our own, in every city, town, and village in the Union.

The power and influence of these organizations cannot be over-estimated by the friends of freedom. They are all important to carry on a political campaign, and it will be a matter of impossibility to compete with those arrayed against us in the approaching contest without them. They are the most powerful and only efficient means for bringing out, concentrating, and making known our *true* strength. They will serve to rally the people, inspire them with confidence and enthusiasm, and furnish the information necessary to expose and fairly meet the sophistry of pro-slavery demagogues. We have seen the power of these associations fully manifested in recent elections. Let the friends of freedom learn wisdom even from their enemies. We go into the contest as a *new and untried party*, opposing old and well-organized parties sustained and backed by Government patronage or bound together by old party ties. We must compel these parties to show where they stand on the only great issue now before the country—Slavery or Freedom. We must force them to array themselves on one side or the other of this question, and consider every man who is not openly and avowedly on the side of freedom as against it. How, then, is this to be done, unless the friends of freedom are themselves united? And how can they be better and more efficiently united than by these organizations?

Again we recommend prompt organization. If there be but six persons in your town who sympathize with you in this movement, organize with these six. Do not despair. If a Republican Association can be put in successful operation in Washington City, under the immediate frown of the National Government, and in a city dedicated to slavery, where is there the city, town, or village, in the North, East, or West, that cannot do likewise?

We appeal, sir, to you, to make this a personal duty—to set about at once bringing the friends of the Republican Movement together, for the purpose of organization on a platform similar to the one which accompanies this, and which you will find so liberal on the slavery question that every man, who is not entirely wedded to slavery and its interests, may stand upon it, without its interfering with any of his former party predilections.

And now, a word as to the Association we represent. You will perceive in the 4th and 5th articles of the Constitution its main object. We propose to act in concert with the Republican Members of Congress, and all Associations that may be formed throughout the States, similar to our own, as a "National Committee," for the dissemination of political information among the masses. We have taken a Hall in a central position, established a Reading-room for the benefit of our visiting Republican friends, and have made arrangements for the issue in pamphlet form of all important speeches that may be made during the present Congress. We have also engaged the services of a very competent German translator, with the intention, should the means be afforded, to have many of the speeches translated into the German language.

It must be apparent to you that the comparatively few who compose this Association cannot contribute all the funds necessary to carry on so important a work; nor can the Members of Congress, who always expend large sums in the publication of their speeches, be expected to meet all the demands of a Presidential campaign, however liberally disposed they may be. It is often desirable to distribute hundreds of thousands of copies of a single speech, or other publication, which, of course, cannot be done without considerable expense.

How, then, is this expense to be met, and how are these speeches, &c., to be circulated? Simply through the active exertions of these proposed organizations, in collecting and forwarding funds and names for that purpose. The Administration party are already at work. Every office-holder

is regularly *assessed* to meet the expenses of the campaign. We have no such facilities, nor do we desire any such. Our aid must come from the voluntary contributions of the *people*. Will any doubt for a moment the utility of scattering broadcast over our land such documents and speeches as will have a tendency to enlighten the public mind on all those exciting questions which will more or less engross their attention during the approaching important political crisis? We think not.

We have every facility here, through our Republican friends in Congress, of issuing speeches and other documents, at the least possible expense; and by the voluntary labors of the members of the Association in directing, and the co-operation of Members of Congress, we hope to have the people fully supplied with the right kind of political reading matter.

We have therefore to request that, should you organize a Republican Association, or should there be one already in existence in your place, you will urge upon its members the importance of at once collecting funds for the purpose of procuring and disseminating the proper kind of documents among the masses, either by your Association or our "National Committee." These speeches and documents can be directed, singly, to such names as you may send us, or they can be put up in packages and sent to any one person (free of postage), to be by him distributed, as may best suit the parties ordering.

We also particularly make the following requests:

1. That the names of the officers of each Association formed be sent us, as speedily after its organization as possible, and, when practicable, the number of its members.

2. That a list be made out, and forwarded, of all persons in your vicinity to whom it may be desirable to forward speeches and other documents—not only friends of the cause, but persons of all parties—and marking, opposite each name on the list so sent, to which of the political parties the individual belongs, that we may send documents adapted to each particular case. These lists will be entered in books to be kept for that purpose by our Association, and suitable documents will from time to time be sent them.

3. Much good might be accomplished by each Association regularly corresponding with the one here, giving information relative to the state of things in their several precincts, or general political intelligence.

In conclusion, and even at the hazard of being considered importunate, let us again urge the importance of an immediate and thorough *Organization*.

Yours truly,

DANIEL R. GOODLOE,  
H. S. BROWN,  
LEWIS CLEPHANE,

*Committee.*

Address, "L. CLEPHANE, Secretary Republican Association, Washington, D. C."

#### APPENDIX C.

REPUBLICAN ROOMS,  
WASHINGTON, D. C., Nov. 29, 1856.

At a meeting of the Republican Association, held at their club room on the evening of the 27th instant, the Committee appointed at a previous meeting to draft an address and resolutions presented the following, which were unanimously adopted:

*The Republican Association of Washington  
to the Republicans of the United States:*

The Presidential contest is over, and at last we have some materials to enable us to form a judgment of the results.

Seldom have two parties emerged from a conflict with less of joy in the victors, more of hope in the vanquished. The Pro-Slavery Party has elected its Presidential candidate, only, however, by the votes of a minority, and that of such a character as to stamp the victory as the offspring of sectionalism and temporary causes. The Republicans, wherever able to present clearly to the public the real issue of the canvass—slavery restriction or slavery extension—have carried the people with them by unprecedented majorities; almost breaking up in some States the organization of their adversaries. A sudden gathering together of the people, alarmed at the inroads of the slave power, rather than a well organized party; with but a few months to attend to the complicated details of party warfare; obstructed by a secret order, which had preoccupied the field, and obtained a strong hold of the national and religious prejudices of the masses; opposed to an old party, commencing the canvass with the united support of a powerful section, hardened by long party drill, accustomed to victory, wielding the whole power of the Federal Administration—a party which only four years ago carried all but four of the States and a majority of the popular vote—still, under all these adverse circumstances, they have triumphed in eleven if not twelve of the free States, pre-eminent for enterprise and general intelligence, and containing one-half of the white population of the country; given to their Presidential candidate nearly three times as many electoral votes as were cast by the Whig Party in 1852; and this day control the Governments of fourteen of the most powerful States of the Union.

Well may our adversaries tremble in the hour of their victory. "The Democratic and Black-Republican Parties," they say, "are nearly balanced in regard to power. The former was victorious in the recent struggle, but success was hardly won, with the aid of important accidental advantages. The latter has abated nothing of its zeal, and has suffered no pause in its preparations for another battle."\*

With such numerical force, such zeal, intelligence, and harmony in counsel; with so many great States, and more than a million voters rallied to their standard by the efforts of a few months, why may not the Republicans confidently expect victory in the next contest?

The necessity for their organization still exists in all its force. Mr. Buchanan has always proved true to the demands of his Party. He fully accepted the Cincinnati Platform, and pledged himself to its policy—a policy of Filibustering abroad, Propagandism at home. Prominent and controlling among his supporters are men committed, by word and deed, to that policy; and what is there in his character, his antecedents, the nature of his Northern support, to authorize the expectation that he will disregard their will? Nothing will be so likely to restrain him, and counteract their extreme measures, as a vigorous and growing Republican Organization, as nothing would be more necessary to save the Cause of Freedom and the Union, should he, as we have every reason to believe, continue the Pro-Slavery policy of the present incumbent. Let us beware of folding our arms, and waiting to see what he will do. We know the ambition, the necessities, the schemes, of the Slave Power. Its policy of extension and aggrandizement and universal empire is the law of its being, not an accident—is settled, not fluctuating. Covert or open, moderate or extreme, according to circumstances, it never changes in spirit or aim. With Mr. Buchanan, the elect of a party controlled by this policy, administering the Government, the safety of the country and of free institutions must rest in the organization of the Republican Party.

What, then, is the duty before us? Organization, vigilance, action; action on the rostrum, through the press, at the ballot-box; in State, county, city, and town elections; everywhere, at all times; in every election, making Republicanism, or loyalty to the Policy and Principles it advocates, the

sole political test. No primary or municipal election should be suffered to go by default. The Party that would succeed Nationally must triumph in the States—must triumph in State elections, must be prepared by municipal success.

Next to retaining power in the States already under their control, let the Republicans devote themselves to the work of disseminating their principles and initiating the true course of political action in the States which have decided the election against them. This time we have failed, for reasons nearly all of which may be removed by proper effort. Many thousand honest, but not well-informed voters, who supported Mr. Buchanan under the delusive impression that he would favor the cause of Free Kansas, will soon learn their mistake, and be anxious to correct it. The timid policy of the Republicans in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Indiana, in postponing their independent action, and temporizing with a Party got up for purposes not in harmony with their own, and the conduct of Mr. Fillmore's friends, in either voting for Mr. Buchanan or dividing the opposition by a separate ticket, can hardly be repeated again. The true course of the Republicans is to organize promptly, boldly, and honestly, upon their own Principles, so clearly set forth in the Philadelphia Platform, and, avoiding coalitions with other Parties, appeal directly to the masses of all parties to ignore all organizations and issues which would divert the public mind from the one danger that now threatens the honor and interests of the country and the stability of the Union—Slavery Propagandism allied with Disunionism.

Let us not forget that it is not the want of generous sentiment, but of sufficient information, that prevents the American people from being united in action against the aggressive policy of the slave power. Were these simple questions submitted to-day to the people of the United States—are you in favor of the extension of slavery? Are you in favor of such extension by the aid or connivance of the Federal Government?—and could they be permitted to record their votes in response, without embarrassment, without constraint of any kind, nineteen-twentieths of the people of the free States, and perhaps more than half of the people of the slave States, would return a decided negative to both.

Let us have faith in the people. Let us believe that at heart they are hostile to the extension of slavery, desirous that the Territories of the Union be consecrated to free labor and free institutions; and that they require only enlightenment as to the most effectual means of securing this end, to convert their cherished sentiment into a fixed principle of action.

The times are pregnant with warning. That a Disunion Party exists in the South no longer admits of a doubt. It accepts the election of Mr. Buchanan as affording time and means to consolidate its strength and mature its plans, which comprehend not only the enslavement of Kansas, and the recognition of slavery in all Territory of the United States, but the conversion of the lower half of California into a slave State, the organization of a new slave Territory in the Gadsden purchase, the future annexation of Nicaragua and subjugation of Central America, and the acquisition of Cuba; and, as the free States are not expected to submit to all this, ultimate dismemberment of the Union, and the formation of a great slaveholding Confederacy, with foreign alliances with Brazil and Russia. It may assume at first a moderate tone, to prevent the sudden alienation of its Northern allies; it may delay the development of its plot, as it did under the Pierce Administration; but the repeal of the Missouri Compromise came at last, and so will come upon the country inevitably the final acts of the dark conspiracy. When that hour shall come, then will the honest Democrats of the free States be driven into our ranks, and the men of the slave States who prefer the Republic of Washington, Adams, and Jefferson—a Republic of law, order,

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\* *Richmond (Va.) Enquirer*, November 22, 1856.

and liberty—to an Oligarchy of slaveholders and slavery Propagandists, governed by Wise, Atchison, Soule, and Walker, founded in fraud and violence, and seeking aggrandizement by the spoliation of nations, will bid God-speed to the labors of the Republican Party to preserve liberty and the Union, one and inseparable, perpetual and all-powerful.

#### RESOLUTIONS.

*Resolved*, That the principles of the Republican Party are based upon broad and national grounds, securing to every citizen all the rights and privileges guarantied by the Constitution; that in its opposition to the extension of slavery it is but carrying out the great sentiments of Freedom upon which the Constitution was founded, and upon which depend the growth and prosperity of our free institutions; and that, while it recognizes "Freedom as national, and Slavery as sectional," it acknowledges the principle of State sovereignty, and discountenances interference with the domestic institutions of the States.

*Resolved*, That in the result of the recent election we have the most cheering evidence, expressed through a large and intelligent popular vote of the American people, of the correctness of our principles, and of their ultimate and speedy triumph; that the unprecedented development of the Republican movement is a sure guarantee that the intelligent masses are on the side of Freedom, and opposed to the further encroachments of slavery, and points with unerring certainty to a full and complete triumph in 1860.

*Resolved*, That the most important time to correct, form, and establish public sentiment, on the great principles involved in the present contest of parties, is during the next three years, and before we shall have become again engaged in the strife and conflict peculiar to a Presidential campaign; and, relying upon the justice of our cause, and the enlightened intelligence of the people to sustain it, we therefore recommend to the several associations in each of the States to keep up their organizations, and by every means labor to disseminate light and knowledge; and that we urge upon our friends throughout the country to form themselves into associations, where none already exist, for a like object, and for purposes of free discussion.

*Resolved*, That the noble and patriotic bearing of J. C. Fremont and William L. Dayton, during the recent contest, marked as it has been by the most unprecedented exercise of personal invective and base calumny, calls forth our warmest admiration; that we recognize them as statesmen of the most exalted virtue, honor, and integrity, and whose devotion to the interests of Freedom finds its highest eulogy in the generous confidence so cordially expressed by an enlightened and free people.

*Resolved*, That we recommend and urge upon our Republican friends the necessity of supporting men pledged to the principles of the Republican Party at their municipal and county as well as State and National elections.

The Association also resolved to continue its organization, and to hold regular weekly meetings, for the discussion of political and national questions.

E. M. JOSLIN,  
*Acting President.*

L. CLEPHANE,  
*Secretary.*

## APPENDIX D.

Newspaper Accounts of the Attack upon the "Wigwam," the Headquarters of the Republican Association of Washington, D. C., on the Evening of November 6, 1860.

*States and Union (Democratic).*

"THE ROOMS OF THE REPUBLICAN ASSOCIATION, at the corner of Indiana avenue and Second street (now the Tremont House), were crowded at an early hour. This club were in constant receipt of a large number of special dispatches from Republican sources, which were, of course, of a very flattering character. As they were announced great enthusiasm was manifested by the crowds, cheer after cheer being given for Lincoln and New York. Every person present, save the opposition reporters and hangers-on, seemed in the most exuberant spirits, which were kept up by a flow of the 'ardent' at stated intervals. Indeed, this was a potent aid at all the clubs for both the hopeful and despondent. During the evening, here as elsewhere, a few slight collisions occurred. About midnight, the club feeling satisfied as to the result, the hall was deserted, the lights turned out, and the 'Wigwam' remained in quietness and darkness. But unhappily it was of short duration. Shortly after 12 o'clock a large crowd, which had been gathering on the Avenue, banded together and proceeded down the street to the 'Wigwam.' They styled themselves the 'National Volunteers.' On arriving at the 'Wigwam' they commenced operations by a shower of stones and a discharge of pistols. Nearly all of the Republicans had left about fifteen minutes previously, only about ten men remaining in the building. These ascended to the roof and held down the trap-door, where they felt perfectly secure, until the cry was heard :

'FIRE THE BUILDING !'

This caused a great deal of uneasiness, but fortunately it was not done. The besiegers broke open the doors of the room and carried off and tore up a number of transparencies, broke some of the lamps and knocked the head off the bust of Lincoln. The floor was strewed with broken glass, and a number of stones were this morning picked up in the room. By this time the police, to the number of fifteen, arrived, and the attacking party grew comparatively quiet. Command was then given, 'National Volunteers, fall into line !' which they did, and, after giving three groans, they then marched four abreast up to the City Hall, from thence down Louisiana avenue, and down the latter street to the Breckinridge rooms, stopping on their way at Brown's Hotel to cheer. Had the attack been made half an hour earlier there would have been a bloody row, as a large number of the Republicans were armed with

## REVOLVERS AND BOWIE KNIVES.

"Warrants have this morning been issued for the arrest of Drs. Clary and Willett. The leading members of the Republican Association have declared their intention to have all arrested who can be recognized as having been engaged in the attack. It was rumored that the books of the Association had been destroyed, but they were in a drawer and were not found."

The reporter condemns the mob in emphatic terms. No notice was taken of this mob by the *National Intelligencer* until November 13, one week after the event, when the legal proceedings in the case.

## WERE RECORDED AS FOLLOWS :

"The assault on the Republican headquarters committed on Wednesday morning last, about an hour after midnight, was under investigation yester-

day afternoon at the guard-house, before Justice Donn. Twenty-two witnesses gave testimony in the case, and the parties who were more or less implicated by the evidence were Martin La Truit, Charles Donoho, James E. Johnson, a small-sized man, with dark whiskers, who was called 'Doctor' on the occasion referred to; a boy named Sullivan, Richard Harrington, R. M. Browning, William Ogden, and a youth named Clare. Three of the six persons who were in the building when assailed, and were arrested at their own request, were discharged by the justice. Their names are John Alcorn, E. L. Burleigh, and Mr. Bigley. From the whole of the evidence, taken together, it appears that at about half-past twelve o'clock on Wednesday morning, the 7th instant, it was proposed and agreed to at Breckinridge headquarters, on Pennsylvania avenue, between Four-and-a-half and Sixth streets, that the fifty or sixty members of the National Volunteers (Breckinridge) then present should repair in a body to the Republican headquarters, on Second street and Indiana avenue, and

#### 'WRECK THE SHANTY.'

Communication was had with a large body of Breckinridge men at Brown's Hotel, when the united party, two hundred and fifty or three hundred strong, marched in regular order toward the Republican rooms. Having arrived at Berth's corner, on Third street, they raised rallying cries, and moved across Indiana avenue in semi-military order, and when in front of the Republican building began to fire pistols and throw stones at the windows of the same, which were soon demolished all through the second story. Going round to Second street, the volunteers broke open the door leading to the Republican rooms, which had been locked, and proceeding up stairs, lighted up the gas and entered upon the destruction of the flags, banners, paraphernalia, and general furniture of the room. They also went into the room above the Wigwam, which is used as a composing-room, and more or less injured six stands for type and scattered a large quantity of type about the room. Some six persons were in the building when broken open, and, out of fear for their safety, retreated to the roof. In about fifteen minutes several policemen, headed by Lieutenant McHenry, entered and took possession of the rooms, and made arrests of those they found within them. Two banners—a large and small one—were allowed to be carried from the building

#### BY THE RIOTERS,

the police appearing to offer no resistance to the act. After the work of mischief and demolition had been accomplished the volunteers met again in the street, and there resumed their ranks under the orders of their captain, Martin La Truit, who then signified his approbation of the work that had been performed by his men. The party then marched away as they came, the police making five arrests in addition to the three Republicans, who were discharged as first mentioned."

#### OFFERS OF COMPROMISE

was made to the Republican Association and Messrs. Buell and Blanchard, printers, and owners of the building, by the National Volunteers, on the condition that the latter Association should make a full pecuniary compensation for the injury done to the property of the Republicans. The proposition was entertained, and it was finally agreed between the legal representatives of the parties that the National Volunteers, besides paying the damages, should make

#### AN APOLOGY FOR THE OUTRAGE.

The letter of apology was written and placed in the hands of Mr. Lewis Clephane. It is as follows:

WASHINGTON, Nov. 8, 1860.

To Messrs. BUELL, CLEPHANE, and others :

GENTLEMEN : The undersigned, members of the National Volunteers, bearing that the rallying cry of the mob that attacked the printing office of Messrs. Buell & Blanchard was "National Volunteers," beg leave for themselves—and they believe they reflect the sentiments of the Association—to deprecate the whole transaction and pledge themselves that no such transaction shall ever be countenanced by them. In a further spirit of conciliation they pledge themselves that all the damage occasioned shall be repaid at no expense to the owners of the building, or printing office or Association rooms ; and further, that at the next meeting of the Volunteers, to-morrow night, resolutions shall be adopted condemning the whole affair and promising immunity to all political associations so far as it is in their power.

Signed by R. Cleary, J. E. Willett, James E. Johnson, Henry Dudley, J. Wise, Henry Ferguson, P. M. Deerick, John Lancy, W. S. Brooks, W. J. Murphy, James E. Jones, William Ferrel.

## ON THESE CONDITIONS

the Republicans agreed to waive any claim before the courts for damages, and to take no part in procuring a criminal indictment of the parties. But the National Volunteers backed down from the agreement, and, suit being brought, they all proved to be insolvent or fled to the South. The criminal prosecution resulted in the imposition of a fine on each of the parties by Judge Crawford of \$50—which, for the crimes of burglary and assaults with intent to commit wholesale murder, must be regarded as coming within the bounds of moderation.

### List of Members of the Republican Association to the Close of 1856.

Blanchard, Wm.  
Buell, Martin  
Bassett, W. W.  
Bigelow, Jacob  
Bishop, D. J.  
Bassett, Geo. A.  
Clephane, Lewis  
Clephane, Jas.  
Durr, Wm.  
Evans, F. S.  
French, B. B.  
Fussell, Jacob  
Goodloe, D. R.  
Gooch, Jas.  
Gibson, J. C.

Gerhardt, Joseph  
Higley, A.  
Miller, David  
McClellan, J. R.  
Ockstadt, Wm.  
Polk, J. F.  
Pegg, J. W.  
Pope, Wm.  
Partridge, S. L.  
Richards, A. C.  
Roberts, J. H.  
Russell, C. P.  
Schreiner, H. J.  
Ward, M. M.

### List of Members from 1857 to 1861.

A  
Adamson, S. E.  
Applee, Jesse  
Arnold, E. G.  
Adrean, G. W.  
Avery, Thos.

Adams, Dr. E. A.  
Atchinson, H. L.  
Andrews, Wm.  
Arnold, G. L.  
Ardesa, Chris.  
Acton, Osborn  
Arnold, S. E.

Appel, Henry

## B

Burch, Jos. W.  
Bidelman, Dan.  
Backson, Jas.

Boltz, John  
 Buckingham, F. L.  
 Breed, Daniel  
 Buegleto, Dr. Wm.  
 Biddleman, Wm.  
 Bozzel, R. L.  
 Barkley, G. W.  
 Brown, Henry  
 Bigly, D. R. P.  
 Baldwin, Levi  
 Bohlager, John  
 Burch, John H.  
 Beall, R. J.  
 Bell, Geo. A.  
 Becket, C.  
 Bradshaw, H.  
 Bacon, R.  
 Barnacle, R. W.  
 Brown, Jas.  
 Brown, T. B.  
 Baker, Levi  
 Bartels, H.  
 Baird, Math.  
 Bond, Jos.  
 Bean, Thos. I.  
 Barrows, G. O.  
 Bateman, N. C.  
 Brablen, Thad.  
 Berkley, Benj.  
 Burroughs, H. W.  
 Bean, W. W.  
 Brown, Wm.  
 Birch, Jos. E.  
 Bradley, W. W.  
 Burleigh, E. L.  
 Berkley, Chs.  
 Burgess, And.  
 Bowen, Jas. A.  
 Boswell, M.  
 Bates, E. H.  
 Bates, Henry  
 Brotners, Lewis I.  
 Boteleler, Jas. E.  
 Brewer, C. I.  
 Boswell, G. H.  
 Burgess, J. H.  
 Bocock, Thos.  
 Briggs, Jas. M.  
 Burr, Harn.  
 Burgess, C.  
 Bishop, J. B.  
 Barker, J. H.  
 Brooks, Howard  
 Butler, J. F.  
 Bernhard, John  
 Beavers, J. S.  
 Bowen, Jos. O. D.  
 Berron, W.  
 Bailey, W.

## C

Clark, B. F.  
 Clary, W. S.  
 Carter, John  
 Cook, S.  
 Clark, Reub. B.  
 Cronin, J. R.  
 Childress, C. H.  
 Cox, N. J.  
 Crux, Thos.  
 Cannon, Jas.  
 Cross, Jas. C.  
 Crump, C. F.  
 Clemence, J. M.  
 Cross, Sam.  
 Carter, Rich.  
 Cannon, Jas.  
 Cross, Gabril  
 Clements, Alex.  
 Clarkson, J. E.  
 Campbell, R.  
 Coombs, J. J.  
 Coffin, W. G.  
 Cohn, J. M.  
 Cassidy, Sam.  
 Childress, S.  
 Carroll, J. G.  
 Copeland, Hugh  
 Champion, T. J.  
 Clary, John C.  
 Carroll, A. J.  
 Creighton, T. B.  
 Craig, Oliver  
 Clements, John T.  
 Carpenter, S. M.  
 Cannon, A. D.  
 Cross, T. B.  
 Coderick, Jos.  
 Clary, Jos. D.  
 Cuzzens, G. E.  
 Collins, W. F.  
 Chaffec, W. E.  
 Clark, G. B.  
 Corning, H. C.  
 Chancey, John T.  
 Colele, R.  
 Carr, W. E.  
 Cannon, Jas. R.  
 Conley, Jas.  
 Cox, G. W.  
 Cox, John  
 Clements, Lewis F.  
 Chancey, W. H.

## D

Duvall, Amon  
 Duvall, W. E.

Degan, Wm.  
 Deven, Anthon  
 Deeble, Jos. W.  
 Dorian, Thos. H.  
 Du Bois, N.  
 Donner, R. M.  
 Deeth, G. O.  
 Davidson, J. B.  
 Dougherty, Rich.  
 Daniels, B. G.  
 Detrick, R. B.  
 Dodge, W. C.  
 Downing, Z.  
 Downey, G. W.  
 Denmead, H.  
 Drew, G. W.  
 Donaldson, Thos. G.  
 Dashiell, C. W.  
 Drury, W. C.  
 Denmead, Adam  
 Davis, C. W.  
 Davis, Wm.  
 Dixon, Wm.  
 Denmead, G. W.  
 Dean, Isatah  
 DeVries, J.  
 Davis, J. D.  
 Dalton, John  
 Downing, W. H.  
 Dorsey, W. B.  
 DeMain, W. W.

## E

Eakle, E. H.  
 Emerson, A.  
 Ellis, H. C.  
 Eaton, A. D. W.  
 Elwood, W. D.  
 Elwood, Thos.  
 Elliott, R. K.  
 Edwards, Jas.  
 Edson, A.  
 Essex, J. W.  
 Evans, Jas.

## F

Filian, F. W.  
 Frazier, W. H.  
 Frazier, T. J.  
 Francis, Geo.  
 French, C. E.  
 Fowler, John L.  
 Fink, J. J.  
 Foos, J. A.  
 Falconer, R. J.  
 Ferguson, John F.  
 Follansbee, Geo.

Fayman, Geo. H.  
 Ferguson, R. M.  
 Ferry, Hugh  
 Fowler, C. S.  
 Fletcher, Art. W.  
 Filger, F.  
 Flagg, Ed.  
 Furtner, C.  
 Fenwick, R. M. A.  
 Forrest, John  
 Fletcher, W.  
 Fenton, W. R.  
 Freere, R. A.

## G

Goff, G. P.  
 Gross, J.  
 Gale, L. D.  
 Gordon, J. A.  
 Goodale, G. W.  
 Goods, W. H.  
 Grant, Josiah V.  
 Garratt, Tim.  
 Grimes, John  
 Griffith, J. H.  
 Greenwell, Jas. B.  
 Griffin, E. W. W.  
 Gauer, G. W.  
 Garrett, G. W.  
 Grimes, W. L.  
 Griffin, Chas.  
 Golden, H. B.  
 Getzantner, W.  
 Geddes, Geo.  
 Griffin, Robt. C.  
 Golden, W. H.  
 Grinder, John  
 Gates, Sam.  
 Gunter, Sam.  
 Goodrich, Jos.  
 Grove, W. H.  
 Gunnell, H. D.  
 Griffith, D. M.  
 Gray, Isaac  
 Graves, W. H.  
 Gassenheimer, Leo  
 Gorman, Jas.

## H

Higly, A.  
 Hall, G. A.  
 Henry, F.  
 Henshaw, Foster  
 Hodgson, Jos. F.  
 Hammond, John  
 Hall, Geo. W.

Henning, W. J.  
 Hobbs, W.  
 Hoffa, H.  
 Hinkle, H. W.  
 Hauptman, G. W.  
 Hess, Fred.  
 Hines, E. J.  
 Hepburn, H. C.  
 Henshaw, H. Clay  
 Hendly, Wm.  
 Hunt, Amos  
 Hall, A. G.  
 Hutchinson, W.  
 Hammond, John  
 Hutchinson, W. E.  
 Hess, Powell  
 Hubner, Adam  
 Harris, Jas.  
 Hines, A. F.  
 Hay, W. G.  
 Henshaw, J. L.  
 Harkness, G. W.  
 Hines, John B.  
 Hobbs, Geo.  
 Hobbs, Benj.  
 Hisbly, C.  
 Hurley, H.

Hutchinson, Jas. H.  
 Hammacher, Jos.  
 Hoffman, Josiah  
 Harford, Robt. B.  
 Hatch, Nath.  
 Howard, W. T.  
 Huguely, Geo. F.  
 Harr, O.  
 Heirick, C. T.  
 Holroyd, John  
 Howard, Jas. M.  
 Hall, Theo. C.  
 Howlett, John  
 Hurley, W. S.  
 Hilton, John P.  
 Howard, Thos.  
 Harris, John W.  
 Hines, Jacob  
 Hill, Jos.  
 Herfurth, A.

## J

Jones, A. M.  
 Jacobs, Thos. E.  
 Jordon, R. H.  
 Jones, Geo.  
 Johnson, Thos.  
 Jarrett, C.  
 Johnson, H. S.  
 Jesunopky, I.

## K

Knapp, A.  
 King, B.  
 Knight, H. M.  
 Kellogg, J. S.  
 Knight, Jas. T.  
 Kelly, Rich.  
 Kuntz, Thos.  
 King, John J.  
 Kryzanowski, W.  
 King, Dan.  
 Kirby, Gil.  
 Keithley, Sam.  
 Kuhns, W. H.  
 Kimball, Chr.  
 Killman, John M.  
 Kulinski, John  
 Ketzinger, Jas.  
 Keithley, John  
 Keithley, Rich.  
 Kelley, Jas.  
 Kibble, Alex.  
 Kaysinea, E.  
 Kelley, Nat.

## L

Lycett, Ed.  
 Lord, F. B.  
 Lent, B. S.  
 Lee, Chapman  
 Lewis, Thos.  
 Love, John L.  
 Lusby, Jas. H.  
 Lange, John  
 Little, John E.  
 Lusby, W. H.  
 Lounsbury, A. E.  
 Lee, John  
 Lynch, Jas.  
 Lent, C.  
 Lake, Eli  
 Louxman, Jacob  
 Lyon, L. A.  
 Larcombe, Geo. H.  
 Larcombe, John, Sr.  
 Lincoln, Dr. N. S.  
 Lusby, Jas. A.  
 Leach, B.  
 Lusk, Jacob  
 Lowe, B.  
 Lusby, J. W.  
 Lewis, Chris.  
 Lafontaine, Jas.  
 Lerch, P. P. B.  
 Langley, Sam.  
 Lemon, Charles, Jr.

Lusby, J. O.  
Lacy, A. B.  
Luckett, Alex.  
Leckron, D. H.  
Lighter, Geo. W.  
Lucas, A.

## M

Miller, David  
McClellan, J. R.  
McKim, S. A. H.  
McWilliams, E.  
Marsh, O. H.  
McNelly, A.  
McNair, Wm.  
Milstead, R. A.  
Miller, Geo.  
Morris, W.  
Martin, L. E.  
Miles, Jas. M.  
Miller, N.  
McKenna, E.  
McClellan, R. J.  
Murtagh, W. J.  
McCoy, W.  
Moore, R. H.  
Marshall, Thos.  
Miller, Geo. O.  
Middleton, R. E.  
Meizerott, W. E.  
Murray, W. A.  
McNelly, John  
Moore, S.  
Milstead, Dan.  
McKenna, A.  
Marlow, A. H.  
Miller, Sam'l  
Martin, Geo. T.  
Morris, C. E.  
Murphy, Jas.  
Muehler, F.  
McGhee, Jas. W.  
McFeely, W.  
McCauley, Jos.  
McElfresh, Geo. W.  
Martin, W.  
Miller, R. M.  
Mills, C. E.  
Middleton, H. B.  
May, J. T.  
Martin, D.

## N

Nokes, Jas.  
Noer, W. B.  
Nott, W. E.

Nicholson, W. A.  
Niedfelt, F. J.  
Nelson, C. E.  
Nailer, Wm.  
Newman, J. A.

## O

Ockstadt, W.  
Oertel, L.  
Ofenstein, C.  
O'Conner, E.  
Ofenstein, L.

## P

Pope, J. C.  
Pigott, M.  
Parker, M. T.  
Pumphrey, R. W.  
Plant, G. H., Sr.  
Pumphrey, Jackson  
Parker, L. B.  
Proctor, A. M.  
Plant, G. H., Jr.  
Peake, R.  
Parks, W.  
Peake, J. T.  
Parker, Geo. T.  
Plant, A. C.  
Pagett, Mason  
Petitt, Smith  
Parkhill, Rob.  
Parkham, W. J.  
Pierce, G.  
Pfeil, Dan.  
Pierce, J. R.  
Potts, D.  
Peake, E.  
Pope, Peter  
Pulkehorn, R. D.  
Parsons, J. T.  
Phillips, R.  
Pulk, Jas.  
Perrie, G. A.  
Perkins, D.  
Pendel, T. F.  
Pope, W. H.  
Quirk, Patrick

## R

Russell, C. P.  
Russell, S.  
Robbins, Z. C.  
Rogers, Geo. J.  
Reeside, Francis  
Raybold, W.

Ruff, G. R.  
Roberts, R.  
Rand, D. E.  
Rabbitt, S. E.  
Ridgely, A. J.  
Robey, Thos.  
Richardson, M.  
Rollins, Jas.  
Rutherford, W.  
Rollins, E.  
Riddle, Jos. A.  
Raley, Jas.  
Robb, M.  
Robbinson, J. W.  
Randall, W.  
Roshee, F.  
Robbins, R.  
Richards, Z.

## S

Stone, Wold.  
Smith, Jos. M.  
Summacker, W.  
Smith, J. F.  
Scott, Geo. A.  
Stainsby, B.  
Sweeny, A. W.  
Stewart, J. C.  
Shinn, J. K.  
Smith, Mit.  
Simms, J. H.  
Smith, Jas.  
Smallwood, L. B.  
Shoemaker, L. W.  
Sawyer, M. J.  
Summacker, L.  
Smith, D. A.  
Stetinius, S.  
Sheid, J. T.  
Sleigh, Chr.  
Semple, D. S.  
Spencer, C. W.  
Spalding, J. W.  
Shackelford, Thos.  
Stewart, Chas.  
Shelton, S.  
Stewart, R. H.  
Sandford, G. W.  
Schenig, F. J.  
Schofer, C. W.  
Shelton, Jos.  
Smithson, Geo.  
Sibley, John  
Steele, J. A.  
Shelton, N.  
Smallwood, W.  
Smith, J. T.

St. John, Geo.  
 Skidmore, J. W.  
 Skippen, C. M.  
 Smoot, W. S.  
 Smith, J. H.  
 Smith, Wm.  
 Scott, J. A.  
 Scrivener, B.  
 Smith, John  
 Schafer, C.  
 Stewart, Henry  
 Sewell, Jos.  
 Sheckles, M.  
 Schafer, J.  
 Scott, Sam.  
 Schweitzer, P.  
 Schilling, A.  
 Schenck, G.  
 Simonds, N.  
 Shackelford, R.

## T

Thomas, H. L.  
 Thompson, G. M.  
 Thompson, J. A.  
 Talbert, G. W.  
 Tucker, J. S.  
 Teachum, W. H.  
 Talbert, J.  
 Trumble, J.  
 Treackle, J.  
 Shaw, C.  
 Turpin, T.  
 Tucker, C. E.  
 Travis, J. E.

Talbert, W. H.  
 Taylor, J. W.  
 Tyler, W.  
 Thorn, H. F.

## U

Usher, J. W.

## V

Venable, Josiah  
 Vermillion, J.  
 Van Horn, B.  
 Vermillion, C.  
 Vanarsdale, P. C.  
 Voss Her, H.  
 Velte, G. L.

## W

Wise, Jas. A.  
 Wilson, Geo. R.  
 Waters, W. E.  
 Warren, T. H.  
 Williamson, J. B.  
 Wilkins, B. F.  
 Watson, A.  
 West, A. S.  
 Wilson, Jas.  
 Williamson, C. A. J.  
 Wood, W. P.  
 Wilson, C. H.  
 Wannall, J. T.  
 Weaver, John G.  
 Wheeler, T.

Willet, J. A.  
 Walling, J. B.  
 Warden, W.  
 Wise, J. H.  
 Walker, Sam.  
 Whiting, O. R.  
 Walker, G. H.  
 Williams, Wash. B.  
 West, J.  
 Wiley, John  
 Whitney, C. S.  
 Wheeler, Thos. G.  
 Whiting, W. B.  
 Weaver, Ham. E.  
 Williams, A. J.  
 Wallack, C. P.  
 Wilkerson, A. B.  
 Wosny, Jos.  
 Wilson, N. O.  
 Whittle, B.  
 Watson, Alex.  
 Webster, John  
 Wilkinson, J. H.  
 Whitney, Jos.  
 Wilson, T. J.  
 Wroe, E.  
 Waugh, J. E.  
 Whittle, J. H.  
 Wright, R.  
 Wolfsteiner, J.  
 Wilson, W.

## Y

Yeatman, J. H.  
 Young, M.





